

DEMOCRATIC GERMAN REPORT

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The Career of a Bonn Minister

In November 1923 a young German law student took part in Hitler's first unsuccessful putsch.

In 1933 the same man joined the Nazi Party, and all the other nazi organisations in sight.

In November 1939 he was appointed Nazi Party boss and local judge in the little Polish town of Chojnice, recently occupied by the Wehrmacht and renamed Konitz.

In 1940 his superiors made a note in his official file: "He is a convinced National Socialist and very active in his work for the Party."

In January 1942 he was appointed judge in the nazi "Special Court" in Chojnice, with almost unlimited powers of life and death over the Polish inhabitants.

The defeat of nazidom brought a pause in his career, but he soon picked up the threads again.

In 1952 he opened a practice as a lawyer in Olpe, Westphalia, West Germany.

In 1957 he was elected to the West German Parliament as a Christian Democrat.

On October 18th 1963 he was sworn in as Minister for Refugees in the new Government of Chancellor Erhard.

The man who made this career for himself is Hans Krüger, today one of the 21 ministers who run West Germany.

When Hans Krüger was appointed a West German minister, research

workers in the German Democratic Republic began their investigations, and in the vast archives of the Nazi Ministry of Justice, large parts of which have survived the war, they unearthed two thick volumes, the "personal file" of Herr Krüger. The cover of this file, and extracts from some of the more interesting documents inside are reproduced on this page.

These original nazi documents tell the following story: In November 1923, Krüger, then only just 21, took part in the fascist attempt to overthrow the Weimar Republic. In a questionnaire which he himself filled out he stated laconically "participant in attempted rising in November 1923". The main rising in 1923 was led by Hitler personally in Munich;

(translation)

Personnel File

of
The Upper Provincial Court in Stettin
on
Senior Judge Hans Krüger

...

Personal Form
for Provincial Judge Hans Krüger
in the Provincial Court in Konitz

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Name | Hans Krüger |
| 2. Date and place of birth | 6. 7. 1902 Neustettin |
| 3. Last employer | Provincial Court Stargard (Pommern) |
| 4. Last address | Stargard, Klappholzgasse 28 I |
| 5. Religion | Believer in God |
| 6. Membership and offices in NSDAP and affiliated organisations | Member of the NSDAP since 8. 5. 33, since 1. 8. 39 head of the local group 'Stargard-Kultenberg, Nazi Welfare League, Reich Jurists League, Nazi Jurists League, National Socialist Student League (graduate member), Reich Colonial League, League for Germanism in Foreign Countries, League for Germanism in the East, Reich Air Protection League. |
| 11. Service | b) Participant in attempted rising in November 1923. |
| b) In Freikorps, etc. | |

Personal-Akten
Aktennummer
Hans Krüger
1. Name
2. Date and place of birth
3. Last employer
4. Last address
5. Religion
6. Membership and offices in NSDAP and affiliated organisations
11. Service
b) In Freikorps, etc.

(cont. from front page)

The Career of a Bonn Minister

since Krüger does not specify that he served under Hitler, it appears probable that he took part in one of the abortive fascist coups d'état at about the same time in Kuestrin and other towns in north-east Germany near his home town of Neu-Stettin.

The nazi files tell little about his career in the following years. In 1933 he joined the Nazi Party (membership No. 1,853,978), and was very active in affiliated nazi organisations such as the "League for the Germanic East", which did Fifth Column work, particularly amongst the German minority in Poland. On August 27th 1934 he took the oath of allegiance to Hitler as a member of the judicial service.

A note in his file in 1936 states: "Krüger stands four square on the ground of National Socialist philosophy."

In 1938 he was promoted to the post of judge at the Provincial Court in Stargard, near the then Polish frontier; in the same year his superiors noted: "There is no doubt as to his political reliability."

In September 1939 the nazi Wehrmacht invaded Poland, and as soon as the noise of battle had receded, he was appointed local Nazi Party boss in the Polish town of Chojnice; at the same time he took over the post of local judge.

He obviously made himself indispensable in this post, since on August 6th 1940 the legal authorities of the district informed the Wehrmacht that Hans Krüger could not be released for military service because of the valuable work he was doing.

In January 1942 a nazi "Special Court" was established in Chojnice, and Krüger was named one of the deputy presiding judges. These nazi Special Courts had the job of administering the special "Penal Laws for Poles" promulgated by the nazis. This special legislation laid down that Poles could be sentenced to death for any offence "demonstrating an anti-German state of mind", and specified that the judges need not be bound by the usual rules of court procedure.

The nazi files so far discovered give no details of the sentences passed by Hans Krüger, the man who would later become a minister, but preliminary investigations carried out in the last weeks of 1963 by the Polish authorities show that Krüger imposed death sentences under the special laws for Poles.

The Polish citizen Marian Bakowski, who worked as an interpreter during the war in the German court in Chojnice testified: "Hans Krüger was one of those who passed sentence in the Special Court. From my period as interpreter I can recall with certainty five death sentences."

Another Polish citizen employed in the courts, Michal Znajdek, testified: "Hans Krüger had a bad reputation; he was supposed to be very hard in his sentences. Even German employees of the court said he was particularly hostile to the Poles; they were afraid of him too."

The details in the nazi files on Hans Krüger's career come to an end in 1943, when he was finally called up for military service.

Soon after the war, Krüger became active in the West German "League of Expellees", an association of Germans resettled in West Germany from the territories to the East of the Oder-Neisse frontier which became part of Poland in 1945. His entry into parliamentary politics came in 1957, after he had become prominent in the

"refugee" movement, which clamours for a revision of the German frontiers.

As a refugee leader, he has been outspoken in his opposition to better relations between West Germany and the states of eastern Europe. Here are some of his recent statements:

"There can be no reconciliation on the basis of a recognition of the present status."

("Deutsche Zeitung", September 28th 1962)

"It appears futile to discuss questions of differences with the Communist representatives of Poland."

("Frankfurter Allgemeine", July 31st 1963)

"I stand for the reconstitution of the German Reich; and the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse line form part of this Reich."

("Die Zeit", Hamburg, November 22nd 1963)

"The main aim of the Federal Government must be the reunification of Germany in the frontiers of 1937."

("Deutsche Zeitung", October 28th 1963)

... and here the denials

The facts on the history of Minister Hans Krüger were made public at a press conference held in East Berlin on December 6th, at which journalists from many countries could inspect the original nazi documents.

The same afternoon, a West German government spokesman made the routine statement that the revelations about Krüger were "the usual propaganda attacks, untrue accusations solely intended to defame a Federal Minister".

A few hours later Minister Krüger issued a more detailed denial. Here are some of the points he made, and our comments:

1. Krüger: "I did not take part in Hitler's putsch in 1923."

GERMAN REPORT: Then why did Krüger claim to have done so in nazi questionnaires? Was he lying to the nazis?

2. Krüger: "I was from 1933 just a simple member of the NSDAP."

GERMAN REPORT: Then why do official nazi files show that Krüger was an official of the Nazi Party? Were the nazis lying?

3. Krüger: "I never acted as deputy presiding judge of a Special Court; thus I could never have taken part in passing death sentences."

GERMAN REPORT: The nazi file includes a letter, dated January 26th 1962, from the judicial authorities in Danzig, appointing Krüger deputy presiding judge of the Special Court in Chojnice.

Even if Krüger never took up his post in the Special Court he could still sentence Poles to death for "anti-German attitudes", since the nazi "Penal Laws for Poles" specified (Polenstrafverordnung Section 2, paragraph V (1), that Amtsrichter (judges in local courts) could apply the laws which imposed death sentences for almost any offence. Krüger was an Amtsrichter before appointment to the Special Court.

Where Do We Go From Here?

Ulbricht Interview on Current Problems

At the beginning of December the West German big-circulation weekly "Stern" published an exclusive interview with Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic. Although Chairman Ulbricht made no startlingly new proposals in the course of the interview, it caused a sensation in West Germany, where straight statements of the

GDR point of view almost never appear in leading journals. Many of the points made in the interview will be familiar to readers of GERMAN REPORT, but we publish a slightly condensed version of the interview on the following pages as an up-to-date and authoritative statement of the point of view of the Government of the GDR.

Stern: Do you think the Moscow test ban treaty will help bridge the impasse in Germany?

Ulbricht: I am sure that international tension will slacken, despite West German obstruction. This is bound to have an effect on relations between the two German states. If the governments of the two German states came to a speedy agreement on peaceful coexistence inside Germany, this would be a valuable contribution to international detente. After all that has happened in Germany in the past, no German state should want to act as a disturber of international peace.

Unfortunately the Bonn government is doing its utmost to hinder detente. It calls for a share in the control of atom weapons; it calls for frontier revisions; it opposes a non-aggression pact between the NATO states and the Warsaw Treaty states. **Stern:** Do you think there is still the slightest possibility of German reunification?

Ulbricht: It is becoming more difficult with the years to heal the division, but I do not consider it impossible. An essential first step would be normal, correct relations and peaceful co-existence between the two German states. Moves towards ending partition should not be impossible if the West German government showed a minimum of goodwill.

Stern: Further steps would then lead to the German confederation which you have proposed?

Ulbricht: We stand by our suggestion of a German confederation composed of the two German states and the special territory of West Berlin. This is the unavoidable transition stage towards gradually ending partition.

The governments of the USSR and the USA represent diametrically opposed social systems, but they are trying to ban the danger of atomic war by negotiation; the two German states could also negotiate to safeguard peace in Germany. An understanding on disarmament would open the way to restoration of German unity.

Stern: There is a shade of difference here: the Russians and the Americans can come to some arrangement, but the Germans...

Ulbricht: People in Bonn must accept the fact that there are two social systems in Germany. Unification of these two systems is not possible. West German Chancellor Erhard knows that just as well as GDR Prime Minister Grotewohl.

Stern: You must admit that the Federal Republic does not consist entirely of Hitlerite generals and monopoly capitalists and that dynamic social changes are taking place there.

Ulbricht: What interests me is who wields power. I do not intend to enter into discussions on social philosophy. **Stern:** Good, then let us get back to confederation. There would surely have to be a preliminary stage of contacts and talks, and inner-German rapprochement? Can you tell me how — from a purely technical point of view — this confederation is to be set up?

Ulbricht: Development towards confederation is a process beginning with detente and normalisation of relations. An atmosphere of confidence must evolve, after which co-operation on joint committees could start.

We suggested some practical steps when we made our proposal for a treaty of goodwill between the two German states (on January 15th, 1963 — ed.). Rapprochement can only be achieved through negotiations; negotiations presuppose a genuine will to reduce tension. But West Germany's revanchist policy prevents this.

We have tried to make it easier for the Bonn Government to adopt a policy of conciliation, in particular through setting up joint committees to investigate various common problems and suggest solutions to the governments.

Stern: Committees in which the two German states would be represented

on a parity basis, that is, fifty-fifty — regardless of population figures?

Ulbricht: Yes. Confidence would then gradually develop. Such committees could be set up to cooperate on problems of trade, economy, science, travel regulations, culture and sport. I believe they could do useful work. For our part, we have a number of demands which could be discussed and clarified in these joint committees.

Safeguarding peace is the basic problem. The German people want to live in peace. A united militarist Germany is quite out of the question.

Stern: Nobody in West Germany wants a militarist Germany, either.

Ulbricht: Wishes notwithstanding, the fact of atomic armament and the fact that the Federal Government wants multi-lateral NATO atomic armament shows that there is a big difference between what the people want and what those in power are doing. I do not doubt that the West German people are absolutely in favour of peace and are even against atomic armament. But those in power in the big armament concerns take a different view.

Stern: Do you consider, then, that "those in power in the armaments concerns" are synonymous with the Federal Government?

Ulbricht: Even Erhard's new government is doing its best to create this impression. Foreign Minister Schröder began his activities with talks on multi-lateral NATO atomic armament. Defence Minister von Hassel began by talks on preventing reduction of US forces in West Germany; he also had talks on the so-called "forward strategy". This does not give the impression that they intend to pursue a disarmament policy.

Stern: Do you think the present atmosphere between the two German states is such that all-German negotiations are conceivable? Or do you share Nehru's view that the atmosphere must improve before talks on the German problem can begin?

Ulbricht: Prime Minister Nehru's remark is very interesting. A change in the atmosphere obviously depends upon a realistic evaluation of the situation. Both sides must realise that, regardless of the wishes of those in power in Bonn, West German monopoly capitalist and militarist rule cannot be set up in the GDR. We have made no demands for changes in the social order in West Germany; we consider this the business of the West Germans. Both sides must realise that it is impossible to unify two diametrically opposed systems. The first thing to be done, therefore, is to lessen tension by establishing normal relations, and to safeguard peace in Germany through disarmament.

The Bonn government and other influential persons in West Germany have for years conducted a bitter campaign to discredit the GDR, supplemented by deliberate damage to the GDR and sabotage. This has not produced an atmosphere suitable for negotiations and has not created confidence.

But year after year we have made proposals for understanding and normalisation. Bonn has rejected all such proposals and has never made a single conciliatory suggestion during the past fourteen years.

The main obstacle appears to be Bonn's fundamental opposition to understanding between the two German states — an opposition arising out of its armaments policy, its desire to revise the existing frontiers and to extend the rule of the German monopolists and capitalists farther east.

We are still prepared for talks on reaching an understanding; but Bonn will have to change its attitude.

Stern: What the Bonn government would demand is fairly clear. What demands would you put forward in these committees?

Ulbricht: The Bonn government has unfortunately made what you call "inner-German rapprochement" impossible. Respected GDR/citizens are arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned; cultural contacts have been deliberately cut off; GDR citizens resident in West Germany are subject to petty persecution, and scientists and other GDR citizens are discriminated against and insulted in the NATO countries at Bonn's instigation.

This attitude is arousing increasing bitterness in the GDR. It is bound to have consequences. The Bonn government must dismantle its iron curtain and put a stop to cold war against the GDR. Many problems could then be more easily solved.

Stern: The frontier fortifications, what we call "The Wall", appear to be a serious obstacle to all-German talks. Was the decision to close the frontier a difficult one for you? Was there much discussion before the decision was taken?

Ulbricht: The West German Federal Republic has existed for fourteen years and so have the GDR and the special territory of West Berlin. But our security measures on the frontier have only been in force for two years. From your question one might think that during the previous twelve years — when there was no Wall — the Bonn government had been making ceaseless efforts to reach an understanding with the GDR. But as you know, during those twelve years the Bonn government waged incessant cold war. Under these circumstances the suggestion that the Wall prevents understanding cannot be taken seriously.

Stern: Is shooting necessary, Herr Ulbricht? Are not the frontier fortifications, which hinder free movement, enough? Is shooting really necessary?

Ulbricht: See to it that Bonn is forced to abandon revanchism! Propaganda is made to tear down the wall; bomb attacks are made on it; we have to react in the same way as other countries react on their frontiers. The USA reacts in the same way to attacks on its frontiers. (Gerhard Kegel, of the GDR Foreign Ministry, intervened to say: "Do you know that the West German frontier guards have orders to shoot? If an unknown person tries to cross the frontier West German soldiers are ordered to call upon him to halt, then fire a warning shot, and then open aimed fire.")

Ulbricht: Our regulations are just the same as those obtaining on all other frontiers.

Stern: Naturally there are regulations on the use of arms on the frontier, for the People's Army and for the Federal frontier guards. The question is how these regulations are interpreted. Is there not a feeling — of "Even at the risk of someone crossing the frontier, I'll let him through; I shan't shoot him!"?

Ulbricht: The obstacle is not the wall but the fact that those in power in Bonn obviously still think that they can undermine, plunder and conquer the GDR, politically and militarily. We have put an end to this illusion through our security measures on the frontiers. Bonn's intentions were, and still are, a dire danger to peace, and we have helped to safeguard peace by building the Wall, that is, by enforcing recognition of our state frontier. From this point of view the Wall is very useful and very necessary. The fact that we waited twelve years to take this action should prove that the decision was not taken lightly or hastily.

There is always the possibility of differing conditions on national frontiers. If relations are good, the frontier need be no obstacle to traffic or good personal relations between the people on either side of it. But this depends not only upon us; it depends largely upon a certain measure of confidence and goodwill on the part of the West Berlin authorities. There is at present no sign of any such thing in West Berlin, where the authorities produce the flimsiest pretexts for rejecting negotiations — negotiations at which we also have to present our wishes and demands.

Stern: Your soldiers on the frontier face a difficult human problem.

WHY NOT TALK?

Commenting on December 1st on the Ulbricht interview re-printed on these pages, the big West German "Life-style" weekly "Revue", with a circulation of over one million, stated:

"Ulbricht spoke about things which are discussed in the whole world, but not here in the Federal Republic. He said many things which are correct, many things which can be discussed and which must be discussed if we wish to have more than a platonic approach to reunification.

"Why are we reluctant to open this necessary discussion? Why refuse to discuss suggestions, merely

because these suggestions are made by Ulbricht?

"Germany can only be re-united if it takes a pledge to be neutral... This is Ulbricht's suggestion. It is not new, but although it has been repeatedly rejected by our official policy, it is a burning question today. In the neutral states and in the western world more and more people say that German reunification is a question for the Germans themselves.

"This means that we have to negotiate with the other side. We have to take Ulbricht at his word, to see if he really means what he says."

There is the question of obeying orders. I put the question directly: is it necessary to shoot?

Ulbricht: The frontier guard cannot tell whether the person violating the frontier is a spy, a criminal on the run or just someone acting without due thought. I have no doubt that some people with less guilt may be hit: but the soldier cannot know this.

Stern: *Do you think that Chancellor Adenauer's retirement will influence the German problem? What do you expect from his successor, Professor Erhard? Would you be interested in meeting him?*

Ulbricht: I do not care to speculate. In his statement as head of the West German government Herr Erhard has so far taken the cold war line against the GDR. Herr Adenauer did this for fourteen years; the result was the collapse of his policy. Despite this we suggested negotiations. We have the same attitude towards Herr Erhard. I do not suggest that he intends to wage cold war against the GDR for another fourteen years. We should be pleased if he turned out to be cleverer than Herr Adenauer.

Stern: *You would consider it useful, then, to talk with Herr Erhard?*

Ulbricht: Certainly. I even suggested talks with Herr Adenauer. But he thought he could attain his object some other way. He did not succeed in marching through the Brandenburg Gate, however; X-Day (the date for the conquest of the GDR, ed.) did not and will not come. All these plans have failed. We can only hope that Herr Erhard will seek and find some other way.

Stern: *Let us assume Herr Erhard takes more seriously the problem of rapprochement between the two German states. Do you think that the Federal Government must abandon the Hallstein doctrine — the doctrine of non-recognition of the GDR — before contacts can be made between the two German states?*

Ulbricht: The main object of the so-called Hallstein Doctrine appears to be to prevent understanding between the two German states and thus to prevent any step towards reunification. Those in power in Bonn obviously prefer so-called western integration to unification of the German states. This is the impression produced by Bonn government policy since the Federal Government was established. The Hallstein Doctrine and normal relations between the two German states would appear to be irreconcilable. I can see no point in making fine distinctions between expressions like "relations" and "establishing contacts".

Stern: *Would you give your fantasy free play for a moment and tell me how, in fact, confederation could be achieved?*

Ulbricht: My fantasy has already been sufficiently exercised in this direction. The basic condition under which normal relations in a confederation can be achieved is an agreement between the two German states on stopping the arms race. It is impossible to visualise confederation so long as West Germany is engaged in multilateral atomic armament within NATO, in a military pact with France or in carrying on scientific experiments on atomic arms production.

Stern: *You see confederation as a militarily neutral league of two German states?*

Ulbricht: I would not even go so far. I would say that in the process of confederation disarmament must be effected.

Stern: *You mean alongside international disarmament?*

Ulbricht: I am in favour of a German policy. I do not intend to be guided simply by what happens on an international scale. Two world wars were initiated from German soil; it is our duty to take special measures to prevent a third world war.

Stern: *You think separate inner-German disarmament is a condition for confederation? This should be the first item on the agenda?*

Ulbricht: As I said, I would not use the word "neutral" in the process of confederation. Emphasis should be on "disarmament", after which neutrality would certainly develop. This is the nucleus of our national problem. We register all changes around us which can be regarded as expressions of a desire to lessen tension.

Stern: *I should like to hear something about the real possibilities during the process of confederation. Would it be possible, for instance, for all newspapers from both German states to be sold throughout Germany?*

Ulbricht: This would be possible once war propaganda and revanchist propaganda were stopped. I make no ideological conditions. You can write what you like in the press.

Stern: *Do you think that the two Powers, the Soviet Union and the USA, have any special interest at the moment in getting the German problem moving?*

Ulbricht: The Soviet Union attaches great importance to getting rid of the vestiges of the Second World War in Germany; to concluding the peace treaty, long overdue, with the two German states; and to solving the West Berlin Problem by making it a

COMMENT

The "Frankfurter Rundschau", leading liberal West German newspaper, stated on November 30th:

"We have to have our own eastern policy in inner-German affairs. We have to make our own, positive proposals. Both states, the Federal Republic as well as the GDR, will have to abandon some of the conditions laid down in the 'non-discussions' which have been held.

"One bitter reality has to be faced: in some form or another, perhaps step-by-step, we shall have to recognise the existence of the GDR as a state. Whatever the subject for negotiation, and with whom ever we may negotiate, this is the basic question which cannot be avoided."

demilitarised free city. The US government, however, has persistently refused to consider this solution. I know of no new facts to indicate any genuine wish on the part of the USA to take positive steps towards a peaceful negotiated solution of the German problem.

Stern: *The attitude is often taken that German reunification is not of any immediate interest to the Great Powers or to Germany's neighbours in East or West, but that the world has resigned itself to the present situation and that some countries even think the division desirable.*

Ulbricht: Judging by their policies I must assume that Britain, France and the USA have no interest, that they even consider division desirable. The terms of the Paris Treaties and NATO treaties make no provision for a united, neutral Germany.

On the other hand, the Warsaw Treaty foresees the withdrawal of the GDR from membership of the Warsaw Treaty in the event of reunification. This shows that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have considerably more understanding for the special situation in Germany.

I cannot take seriously the crocodile tears which Western politicians shed about the division of Germany, a partitioning which they themselves engineered. The Bonn government makes it very easy for the Western powers to maintain their attitude, for they can shed as many tears as they like; so long as Bonn sticks to its present unfruitful point of view there is no chance of German reunification.

Stern: So long as the two power blocks permit a latent centre of war danger to exist in Germany, where the blocks confront one another, can lasting peace be guaranteed?

Ulbricht: You proceed from the assumption that the solution of the German problem is the task of the victor powers of the Second World War. These powers could naturally help by reaching an understanding amongst themselves and encouraging detente. But a solution of the German problem can only be arrived at if the two German states normalise their relations and work sensibly together. They must, first of all, make up their minds to come to an agreement on safeguarding peace in Germany and solving the German problem by peaceful means. I am quite sure that neither the USA nor the Soviet Union would object to the Germans arriving at a peaceful solution amongst themselves. The responsibility lies primarily with the Germans.

Stern: What should the economic experts discuss? Do you not think that a financial "shot in the arm" would boost GDR industry? Do you think that long-term credits from the Federal Republic would have the effect of lessening tension?

Ulbricht: We would accept any long-term capital investment credit.

Stern: Are there any definite ideas about how big this sum might be?

Ulbricht: I have suggested figures on earlier occasions. Some gentlemen in West Germany have had very small-scale ideas on this, so that I should not care to go into figures at present; the first thing to do is to create the right atmosphere. We are prepared to buy from everyone. But history will not be altered if they do not want to sell; we can always find some other source. The Bonn government has got nowhere with its embargo policy.

Stern: Do you think that the Soviet Union and the USA are so involved in the German question from a prestige point of view that they hope the Germans will take the initiative?

Ulbricht: I do not believe the Great Powers would reject such an initiative. It would help them to make progress in international detente. It would also be in the interests of the entire German people.

Stern: Do you feel that the final result of efforts to achieve reunification would be a socialist state?

Ulbricht: I believe that Germany will one day be a socialist country. But

Ulbricht on Khrushchov

I have known Khrushchov ever since he was Party Secretary in the Ukraine. I was deeply impressed by his way of guiding things on the Stalingrad front. When the Stalingrad pocket was closed, I met Khrushchov in the army staff. (Ulbricht did dangerous front-line work in 1942-1943 on this sector as one of the leaders of the anti-fascist "Free Germany Committee", ed.)

He was a member of the Military Council. I was very much interested in the way in which he and other generals worked with the officers and men. What interested me most was the way he dealt with people, how the generals and officers went up to the front lines, talked with soldiers and explained their tactics to them. All these human relationships in the army from the top to the bottom. I learnt a great deal there.

I remember that at the Battle of Kotelnikovo I had talked with captured German panzer soldiers and officers. The division had only just come from France and was well equipped and trained. "Let's have a talk with the Germans", Khrushchov said, "how should we set about it?" "It's the end of December," I said. "We're neither of us Catholics, but we could get hold of a Christmas tree." It was not so easy, though.

We invited a number of officers and Khrushchov spoke very calmly with them, asking them why they had invaded the Soviet Union, what they were doing there, why they had not stayed in Germany doing honest work instead of attacking the Soviet Union like robbers. He spoke simply with them, and those soldiers thought over what he said. It im-

pressed them very much to be told about the Soviet Union's peace policy and about how a peace-loving Germany could live at peace with the Soviet Union if the aggressive imperialists disappeared from Germany.

Amongst the young officers was a pilot who had been shot down near there. "When I think about it," he said to Khrushchov, "couldn't our two peoples live together and talk calmly together, as we are doing now?"

"Yes, that's what we have always thought," said Khrushchov. "But the Germans should not have invaded our country."

I remember the way Khrushchov talked with these people, how he tried to convince them and not treat them like enemies. He talked just as calmly to them as we are talking together now.

I remember, too, how Khrushchov came back one night during this battle and took out of his pocket the Communist Party card of a young Red Army soldier who had been killed. The card was shot through. I remember how grieved he was that this young man had had to die because the German militarists had invaded his country.

We never want this militarist ideology to hold sway in Germany again. That is why we fight so persistently against revanchism. It is a question of peace or war in Germany, of whether we want to preserve the best humanist traditions of our people or the barbarous militarist ideology.

(Walter Ulbricht in his interview with "Stern")

this does not mean that we make socialist developments in West Germany a condition for reaching an understanding or for practical steps towards reunification. The West German people must decide what social order they want. They still want a capitalist social order. They may think differently in the future. There is no point in discussing this problem now, for it cannot be decided under present conditions.

Stern: On other occasions you have suggested that a confederative development could result in reunification with all-German elections. But

surely not with elections such as those recently carried out in the GDR?

Ulbricht: And also not with the sort of elections we see in West Germany. We made suggestions for all-German elections in 1952: Bonn rejected them. We have stated our readiness to discuss how elections should be conducted and under what controls they should be held.

Stern: Do you still think, as you stated in an interview in 1958, that a modified Weimar election law could be the basis for discussions?

Ulbricht: I shall discuss this in the confederation, not earlier.

Oil Town on the Oder

by Alan Winnington

Until recently the chief fame of Schwedt, a little town on the eastern frontier of the GDR, was its futile defence in 1945 by "Scar-face" Otto Skorzeny, SS General who kidnapped Mussolini and now has an estate in Ireland.

Citizens of Schwedt, knowing that the war was lost, wanted the town declared open when the Red Army approached. Skorzeny hanged a lot of them along the streets and held on till 80 per cent of the town was destroyed.

To this day, the whole surrounding area wallows in rural backwardness — beautiful, forested, farming backwardness. A place which bright people left for places farther west.

A real taste of the old Prussian rural scene comes through if you avoid the Autobahn from Berlin and risk your car springs on the vile, cobbled secondary roads.

But some twenty miles from Schwedt a change begins that is at first imperceptible. A little further on, the old stone carriage ways are being doubled in width and metalled. For miles, great elms and ancient pollard willows lie with their roots in the air where they have been mined.

Converging on Schwedt from all the nearby towns and villages, buses, cars, mopeds and bicycles crowd the roads. Greetings and jokes are shouted in the accents of Berlin, Saxony and the Baltic coast.

The old trend has gone into reverse. Skilled workers, technicians, teachers, doctors, are moving east to settle and the local folk are staying put and preparing to spend their lives where they were born.

At this moment they are all up to their necks in the hectic rush to make sure that the first stage of the new Schwedt oil refinery is ready for the crude oil which has been pumped over the Russian steppes and is now crossing Poland.

This refinery is at one end of the "Friendship" oil pipeline which starts at Kuibishev. One branch goes southward to Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the other passes Plock in Poland, where a big oil refinery is being built, and on to Schwedt just inside the German Democratic Republic.

Frantic efforts to hinder its development were made by the West German government. They stopped deliveries of pipes which had been

ordered and overruled protests from West German firms.

It did them no good. The pipeline is there and before the end of this year — on schedule — the first oil will flow from it into the Schwedt tanks.

Next year the refinery's first stage will only be able to handle two or at most three million tons of oil and its products will be "simple" — gas, petrol, oil, grease and bitumen. But year by year new sections will be added until the refinery can handle as much as ten million tons annually.

By that time, this 24 inch artery will have reached out capillaries all over the GDR to nourish a mechanised agriculture, providing ample fertiliser, and will be the base for all the complex products of a modern petrochemical industry.

Walking round a modern oil refinery, dwarfed by 500 foot chimneys, great distillation columns and retorts, it is impossible for a layman to know whether the giant plant is in fact as up-to-the-minute as he is told by the pygmy men and women who serve it.

Most likely it is, since it is built on the lines of the most modern automated Soviet plants. To a non-expert, the central control room is certainly impressive. It is a glassed-in building of two storeys in the middle of everything. Here, surrounded by dials and knobs reminiscent of a scene from the UFA film "Metropolis", three or four people will sit like a midget brain in a brontosaurus. They will decide exactly what happens in every section and what comes out of it. No case of thrombosis in any pipe, no minute alteration of quality but will show at once and either correct itself or be corrected.

From top to bottom, new people are being produced by the need to bring the refinery into existence. Rural youth are finding a training ground for skilled jobs and an open door to technical study; skilled workers are developing new ways to do old jobs.

"Rudi," shouted my guide, to someone working high up in the wind and rain, peering down into a half finished high octane oven. Rudi Schroeder came down, a hefty worker of maybe 32 — leader of what I would call a gang and he called a collective, building the ovens.

He is about as typical as a German heavy industrial worker can get; big,

tough, blue eyed, with hands like iron bolts and a knowing look. He wore a battered leather coat with at least six pullovers under it, and a green knitted cap.

Shouting above the din of bulldozers and the weather, we talked about an idea developed by his gang which is going into use on other factory sites in the German Democratic Republic.

"You see," he said, "instead of putting them up section by section and lining them with firebrick, we finish the whole section on the ground and haul it into position by crane."

"Simple? It sounds simple. But it took a lot of working out. Plenty of snags. The biggest section on this job weighs 36 tons. But it works."

What was the saving and what did the team get out of it?

"Time saved is as much as two-thirds. An 18 month job can be cut to six months. Saves a lot of money and sets us free for other jobs."

"Every GDR citizen gains from that, us included." His knowing grin as he said it robbed the words of solemnity.

"As for us, we do still better. There are ten of us to share a part of the money saved by using our idea in the GDR for one year. Then nothing more. We'll have to think of another idea."

"We reckon that we'll each get a motor car out of it and enough cash to run it for a time."

In spite of having to live away from home, skilled workers flock to Schwedt. Wages are high and so are the extras, height money, seven marks daily for living away from home and only 1.50 marks to pay for accommodation including coffee.

Rudi's take home pay, not including bonuses, is about £25 a week. Most workers put in their 90 hour fortnight in such a way as to get four days in a row every two weeks to go home.

The town of Schwedt is four miles away, hidden from the refinery by forests and away from the prevailing wind. Apart from the needle spire of the church, it is not easy to find the remnants of the town which Skorzeny destroyed. A few old tobacco warehouses and some mouldering dwellings will have to come down.

The rest is new — built, building or planned. Housing comes first: 1,500

flats since 1960 and now at a yearly rate of 1,000. The population will have grown from its original 8,000 to 38,000 by 1970 and 54,000 by 1980. They are good flats, ranging from one room to five and the whole town will be heated by waste heat piped from the refinery.

An average three room flat, plus equipped kitchen and bathroom, including use of launderette in the basement (not yet ready) costs £15.0 a week. Top price is for luxury flats of five rooms, kitchen and two bathrooms, for executives, at £30.0 a week.

One part of the town is finished with shops, cafe, schools, creche, nursery and kindergarten all near each other with plenty of space.

The job is planned so that as each stage of the refinery is built, the construction workers live in the flats intended for the permanent oil wor-

kers. As they leave the oil workers move in.

Scattered amongst the unfinished flats are sites for more nurseries, restaurants, pubs, dance halls, sports facilities, a hospital and colleges.

Education was the thing stressed by works director Dr Werner Hager, a plump, apparently unworried man looking very young for such a responsibility and still learning on the job.

"Quite apart from its effect on the entire industry of the GDR," he said, "this pipeline is going to lead to the industrialisation of this whole region."

"There have to be service industries — meat, bread, cleaning and so on — and secondary industries deriving from the oil plant. It's all going to need manpower — trained, educated manpower, factories, roads, everything."

"That manpower will become available as Schwedt helps the GDR agri-

culture to become mechanised and provides plenty of fertiliser. Much less labour will be necessary on the farms.

"And we have to educate the local people to cover every job in all the fields developed by the refinery."

As he talked you could see the local people, especially the young ones, leaving the Prussian rural darkness of their forefathers for the slide rule, test-tube and computer. And the transformation in all those local townships where sheep are still driven through the cobbled streets.

That is rather important here, on the Oder-Neisse border between the GDR and Poland — the border which the politicians in Bonn still talk of moving back to the former limits of Hitler's Reich.

The "Friendship" pipeline has more than merely industrial significance.

Electric Power in the GDR

by Frederick Ford

A highly industrialised country like the German Democratic Republic needs a huge power output, and in the early post-war years this was one of the bottle-necks holding up industrial development. By 1955, however, the main difficulties had been overcome and the GDR, despite the lack of swift rivers to supply water-power, had become one of the leading countries in Europe in power production.

The United Nations Statistical Yearbook for 1959 listed the GDR fifth in the world in per capita power consumption after the USA, Canada, Britain and Czechoslovakia. The quantity of electric power generated in the GDR rose from 19.5 thousand million kilowatt hours in 1950 to 45 thousand million in 1962; by 1962 per capita consumption was 2,635 kilowatt hours — about the same as in Britain and slightly more than in West Germany.

A survey of developments since 1945 shows what a big achievement this is. In 1936, the pre-war base-line year generally used for comparison, production was 14 thousand million kilowatt hours in that part of Germany which now forms the GDR; production shot up to a war-time peak of 27 thousand million kilowatt hours in 1943, but extensive damage in the closing stages of the war forced the figure down to only 6.4 thousand million in 1945. It rose again to

11.5 thousand million kilowatt hours in 1946. Fifty per cent of generating plant had been destroyed during the war and what remained was so run down that it produced less than two thirds of nominal output.

Recovery was complicated by the division of Germany in 1949; practically all the resources of anthracite are in the Ruhr area in West Germany, so that the GDR was compelled to convert to the use of lignite, of which it has huge supplies.

The first two power stations built in the GDR operated on blast furnace gas, a waste product of the two new iron foundries in Stalinstadt (now Eisenhuettenstadt) and Calbe, which went into operation in 1952, early in the First Five Year Plan period.

Almost all of the GDR supply is generated from lignite, less than 4 per cent from anthracite and very small quantities from water-power, mineral oil, gas and waste gas. The majority of the big new power stations are therefore situated in the Cottbus district, which is the biggest lignite mining area in the GDR.

A special coal and power programme was introduced during the Second Five Year Plan period (1956 to 1961) and the electricity supply shot up to nearly 35 thousand million kilowatt hours in 1958 and over 40 thousand million in 1960. A very high percentage had to be fed into industry; the chemical industry alone now

consumes about 30 per cent of the total output.

Between 1958 and 1962 over 5,000 million marks were invested in the electric power industry; a number of power stations were enlarged, a power station in the Black Pump Lignite Combine began operating, and building started on the large-scale power stations in Berzdorf, Luebbenau and Vetzschau and on two pump-fed power stations. Pump-fed power stations are water-power plants; water is pumped off at night from the mains supply and stored in reservoirs. The power generated is fed into the regular network at peak load times. One of these was already operating in 1960 and the other will be operating at half its total capacity at the end of the year.

Sections of the Luebbenau and Vetzschau power stations are also in operation; after completion, these will be the biggest lignite-run power plants in the world and will generate about 15 thousand million kilowatt hours — about half as much as the total GDR output in 1957.

Along with mechanisation and automation in industry the amount of electricity needed is steadily increasing, especially in the chemical and building industry and on the expanding electric railway network. Many more jobs on the land and in the farmyard are now being done with electrical machines, too.

More and more electric machines are being used in the homes; in 1958, for example, 2.1 per cent of all families in the GDR had refrigerators, 1.6 per cent washing machines and 5.1 per cent television sets. By 1964 19.6 per cent of families will have refrigerators, 20 per cent washing machines and more than 50 per cent television sets. The amount of power available for household purposes will increase from 2,500 million to 3,850 million kilowatt hours.

To keep up with all these demands, it is planned to generate about 63 thousand million kilowatt hours by 1965 and about 76 thousand million kilowatt hours by 1970. This will be about 60 per cent more than in 1963. It will be achieved mainly by more rational and economical operation of available plant, and there will not be a very big increase in the actual number of power stations.

Power station workers can be much more efficiently employed than at present. Labour power requirements still vary considerably from plant to plant; in an older, but moderately efficient plant like Lauta, for example, 45 workers now generate 10 megawatts of electricity, whereas in the first section of the new Luebbenau power station only 20 workers are required and only 12 will be needed to produce the same amount in the second and third sections.

Electronic control and regulation are to be widely introduced and power plant workers' qualifications improved, so that by 1965 about a quarter of those employed in the industry will be skilled foremen or qualified engineers.

Since 1960 all power plant workers have been taking compulsory training so that they can deal quickly with emergency failures, faulty operation and so on. They are given theoretical demonstrations of every imaginable cause of interruption and its possible effect on various machines and aggregates, and practical tests in dealing with each.

Better planned and more economical consumption of electricity throughout industry can also free much power now being carelessly consumed; a French aluminium foundry, for instance, consumes only about two thirds of the power consumed in the production of aluminium in the GDR. Great efforts are to be made to get these figures down to the average international level.

Developing international cooperation within the framework of Comecon will also be a tremendous help in maintaining an even, steady flow of electricity. A plan was agreed upon at a Comecon conference in 1959 which covered the first stage in unification of the electric power

systems of member countries, and construction of interlinked long-distance networks began.

The plan was to set up eight high voltage interlinked systems with a total length of 1,200 kms by 1964. Five of these were completed by the end of 1962. Each is capable of carrying about 300,000 kilowatts and it is now possible to interlink the supply systems of Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Western Ukraine. The Bulgarian and Rumanian systems will shortly be interconnected with this system.

Cooperation of this kind has the advantage that countries can help each other in cases of system failures;

loads can be eased during peak periods, since these occur at different times in the different countries, and temporarily free capacity in one country can be switched over to another, thus doing away with the need for certain national investments which would otherwise be inevitable.

A central dispatcher administration was set up in Prague in 1962 whose main job is to organise rational distribution of the stand-by capacity of each member country, and to co-ordinate national maintenance and general repair schedules so that there need be no stand-still periods in the power supply anywhere while these repairs are being done.

Murderer's Roundabout

Old nazi war criminals appear to be particularly thick on the ground in the police department of the West German city of Ludwigshafen.

In February 1961, Georg Heuser, head of detective police in the city, was arrested when belated research into nazi crimes showed that he had been chief of a mass execution squad on the eastern front during the war. In May 1963 he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for his crimes. While he was awaiting sentence, his colleagues on the police force regularly sent him flowers to decorate his cell.

Heuser's successor as chief of detective police in Ludwigshafen was Georg Fleischmann; he was arrested in his turn when researchers finally discovered that he had served as an SS captain on the eastern front, and taken part in mass executions of Jews in the Smolensk area.

A curious factor in the case was that the West German authorities had taken so long to arrest him; that Fleischmann was a member of an SS murder squad has been a matter of public knowledge at least since May 1962, when he testified as a defence

witness in the trial of other SS criminals in West Berlin.

A revealing scene from this trial was reported on June 8th 1962 in "Die Zeit", responsible West German weekly:

"The spectators in the Moabit Criminal Court could not believe their eyes. It was the eighth day of the trial of members of Action Group 9, whom the prosecutors accuse of murdering 11,000 Lithuanian and Russian Jews.

"Among the first witnesses summoned was Georg Fleischmann. He too was a member of the murder outfit. He was asked to take the oath before testifying; the judge told him to raise his hand for the ceremony. And then it happened: Fleischmann threw his arm upwards, right to the regulation eye-level, as he had always done it in the past — in a regular 'Hitler salute'."

...

Werner Meyer, chief police commissioner in the detective department of the Schleswig-Holstein police, was arrested on charges of mass murder on December 4th. He served as SS Colonel of the eastern front.

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Political Prisoners in West German Jails

About nine hundred political prisoners are at present serving sentences for "progressive" political offences in West German prisons and about 80,000 others are under investigation by West German prosecutors because of alleged membership of the banned communist party, ban-the-bomb actions or other oppositional activities.

These "investigations" mean that the persons concerned are called up, often many times, before the police or an examining magistrate, and their homes searched for incriminating evidence. In many cases they have lost their jobs and been blacklisted.

Amongst those under investigation are about 800 West German trade unionists who have had contacts with GDR trade unions and openly advocate an understanding between the two German states.

There is no time limit for these investigations and some which were originally opened as long ago as 1954 are still dragging on. Large numbers of these people have been arrested "on suspicion" and detained without trial for periods ranging from a few days to many months. None have been charged or convicted for acts generally recognised as criminal offences, and in many cases they have been sentenced for acts committed at a time when these acts had not yet been declared illegal.

Here are some examples of West German political justice:

Willi Ambrosch, 42, a building worker of Dahlheim in West Germany, was sentenced on April 8th 1963 to 14 months prison by the Dortmund special political court on the grounds that he had contacts with GDR trade unionists, had visited the Leipzig Fair in the GDR, attended the 10th All-German Workers' Conference there, and had organised football matches between West German and GDR teams.

Elfriede Kautz, 50 of Hanover, and **Gertrud Schröter**, 55, of Celle in West Germany, were sentenced in November 1961 to one year's prison and 5 years' loss of civil rights because they had belonged to an organisation called "Happy Holidays for All Children" which had arranged for thousands of holiday trips to the GDR for children of needy West German parents. The organisation was banned in the summer of 1961, but had operated legally with the cooperation of the West German railways from 1954 until that date. The indictment against the two women was written by former Nazi public prosecutor Ottersbach, who

helped hand down illegal death sentences while serving in a Nazi special court in Kattowice, occupied Poland, during the war. The two were sent to prison in March this year; early release on the grounds of good behaviour has so far been refused. Three other women have now been sentenced on similar charges.

Herbert Wils, 32, a worker of Hagen-Haspe in West Germany, and his wife Ingrid, were arrested by the political police on November 27th 1961 and their two small children left quite alone at their home. Wils had been a Social Democrat and later a Communist. In April 1962 he was sentenced to 2½ years prison and 5 years police supervision and loss of civil rights, and his wife to 9 months prison for distributing anti-militarist leaflets; the court claimed that this constituted "continuation of the activities of the banned Communist Party".

Wils' appeal against the sentence was rejected by Judge Heinz Jagusch, President of the political section of the West German Supreme Court. Judge Jagusch has since been relieved of his post, following the disclosure that he had been a prominent Nazi jurist.

Edmund Labendz, 32, of Dorsten in West Germany, a miner, is now in prison serving a one-year sentence passed in 1954 and an 18-month sentence passed this year. The earlier sentence was based on his activities as a Free German Youth leader in a young miners' group and the second sentence is based on allegations that he continued his "illegal" youth work after the Free German Youth was banned.

Gerhard Lieberum, 36, Hellshorn in West Germany, a building worker, was sentenced on February 2nd 1962 to 12 months prison, four years loss of election rights and police supervision and sent to prison in October 1963. At his trial the prosecution stated that Lieberum had persuaded colleagues in his factory to visit the GDR "where, of course, they had discussions on reunification. This constitutes a danger to the state and a threat from the east to the Federal Republic".

Gerhard Steinmann, 33, St. Ilgen in West Germany, an office worker, was sentenced to 12 months prison on May 12th 1961 by the Karlsruhe provincial political court. The Federal Supreme Court ordered a re-trial which ended in a 10 months sentence. He was sent

to prison on April 16th 1962. Grounds for the sentence were that he had distributed amongst his friends leaflets condemning atomic armament in West Germany and calling for peaceful co-existence with the GDR. The court claimed that this constituted "distribution of literature dangerous to the state".

August Wahlert, 57, of Bochum in West Germany, a crane driver, was a long-time shop steward in a Bochum works. He was dismissed without notice in 1959 because he had visited the Leipzig Fair in the GDR and attended an All-German Workers' Conference there. He has been detained on suspicion for eight months in the Bochum prison for "endangering the state" by distributing anti-militarist leaflets.

Heinrich Winschu, 45, of Bielefeld in West Germany, a mechanic, has been held without trial since April this year. During the war he was imprisoned by the Nazis for refusing to work in an armaments factory. He is now alleged to have continued the work of the banned communist party through his activities as secretary of the Dusseldorf Peace Committee.

Georg Jacobi, 43, of Munster in West Germany, a salesman, has been under arrest on suspicion since September 1962; no charges have yet been lodged, but he was arrested by the political police on the grounds that he opposes cold war and atomic armament. Jacobi is seriously ill with diabetes.

West Police hold Unionists

West German police arrested two GDR trade unionists in Dusseldorf on November 21st. The two union officials, **Horst Benz**, 36, and **Franz Moritz**, 66, had travelled to Dusseldorf to deliver greetings to the West German Trade Union Congress from the GDR Trade Union Federation.

The West German authorities announced that the two men would be tried on charges of "distributing propaganda dangerous to the state". Basis of the charge is that they handed copies of the GDR greetings to West Germans interested. This message, classified by the West German authorities as subversive propaganda, states:

"We must make sure that a world war never again starts from German soil and that Germany becomes a haven of peace in the heart of Europe; that Germany can never be turned into a atom-poisoned desert; that Germany is not more deeply divided but the way smoothed for reunification in peace and liberty through rapprochement and understanding between the two German states."

Far-Flung Bomber for Trial

A GDR court will soon try a West German citizen for exploding bombs in the service of as many right-wing causes as he could find, it was officially announced in East Berlin on December 6th.

The bomber, a young man named Herbert Kühn, was arrested recently while preparing a bomb attack in East Berlin. Subsequent investigations have revealed that in the past two years he had set off bombs in Italy, France, West Berlin and the GDR.

He started his career relatively harmlessly two years ago, when he smeared anti-Italian slogans on Italian diplomatic buildings in Bonn and West Berlin in the name of the so-called "Freedom for South Tyrol Movement", an organisation sponsored by right-wing West German circles which attempts to launch fifth column activities amongst the German-speaking minority in northern Italy.

Early in 1962 he made contact through international fascist circles with the OAS in France, and personally exploded a bomb on March 28th 1962 in the Panorama Cinema in Paris.

Returning to West Berlin, he took part in an attack with explosives on the offices of "Die Wahrheit", Socialist Unity Party newspaper on June 17th 1962.

At some period during his "explosive" career, the official GDR announcement stated, Kühn came into contact with agents of the Gehlen Organisation, West German equivalent of the American CIA. Subsequently he and members of his underground group were trained and received arms and explosives at a secret Gehlen hide-out at Deimern, near Soltau, in West Germany. Some of the military supplies came from nearby Bundeswehr stores.

On October 19th and 20th 1962, Kühn and members of his gang travelled to northern Italy, where they exploded bombs in Trento and Verona, causing one death and 26 persons injured.

On June 16th 1963, Kühn laid three further bombs in East Berlin. One exploded, causing serious damage; the others could be defused in time.

A GDR spokesman stated that Kühn would soon go on trial in Berlin; if the Italian authorities requested his extradition for trial there, the request would be given serious consideration.

How to Beg the Question

A Moral Tale in Four Installments (and a Stop Press)



Step 1. In mid-August 1963, US troops stationed in West Berlin hold manoeuvres in the Grunewald Forest. To add reality to the war game, members of one manoeuvres team paint swastikas on their helmets and hang Iron Crosses round their necks.

Step 2. The West German magazine "Spiegel" prints, in its issue of August 29th, the photographs of this manoeuvre reproduced above. **GERMAN REPORT** prints a short news item on the incident in its issue of September 6th. The British and American press ignores the whole affair.

Step 3. A New York reader of "Spiegel", alarmed at the picture of US soldiers sporting nazi emblems on their uniforms, writes to Defense Secretary McNamara asking for an explanation.

Step 4. WAC Major Lillian E. Baker, Audio-Visual Branch of the Public Information Division of the US Department of the Army gives her explanation: "The photographs to which you referred are not Army photos. Uniforms worn by Army aggressor forces during military manoeuvres are prescribed in Army regulations. The regulation prescribes that insignia and decorations of other or former governments will not be used."

The Moral: Officers and men of the US forces are free to ignore the regulations, and dress in full nazi uniforms if they feel like it, as long as they avoid having their photographs taken by official US Army photographers.

STOP PRESS: In a further letter to objectors who thought she was avoiding the issue, WAC Major Baker stated: "The two US soldiers wore the insignia in question without the knowledge of superiors. Subject soldiers have been reprimanded. The Berlin Brigade has directed that command emphasis be placed on proper wearing of uniforms. In addition, Headquarters, US Army, Europe, has issued a command directive emphasising proper wearing of aggressor uniforms in manoeuvres."

Supplementary moral: If you protest loud enough and long enough, you may get someone to do something in the end.

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

A complicated series of libel actions came to an end in West Germany on November 26th, when two pretty sooty pots agreed not to call each other black in future. Perhaps this crisp summary is a little too crisp: what they really declared was that if they should call each other black, they did not really mean it to be understood like that.

It would take too long to describe the whole intricate affair in detail, but what basically had happened was this: Professor Carlo Schmid, leading Social Democratic politician, and Vice-Chairman of the West German Parliament, stated publicly a few years ago that Professor Theodor Oberländer, at that time a Christian Democratic cabinet minister, had been implicated in a pogrom of Jews in the Ukrainian town of Lvov in 1941. (In 1960 the Supreme Court of the GDR sentenced Oberländer to life imprisonment in absentia for his war crimes).

Oberländer, reacting fast, got a tame journalist named Karl Ziesel to publish a pamphlet stating that Carlo Schmid had helped the nazis to liquidate millions of Jews. (Carlo Schmid does not dispute the fact that he worked as an occupation government official in Lille, nazi-occupied France).

Both Oberländer and Schmid went to court, and after confused actions and counter-actions they apparently decided that nothing could be gained by washing each other's nazi-brown shirts in public, and on November 26th this year reached an agreement to pack it all in. The agreed statement which they issued was notable for its weasel-wording. Oberländer and his tame journalist declared: "When we stated that (Carlo Schmid) 'had supported, in a leading position, actions which led to the liquidation of millions of Jews' we did not intend to claim that he had done anything personally which led directly or indirectly to the liquidation of the Jews. If this impression could have been given, we retract, with an expression of regret, this statement."

Carlo Schmid's section of this curious "declaration of honour" read like this: "Professor Oberländer wishes to state that the Wehrmacht unit 'Nachtigall' (to which he was attached in Lvov) had no part in any crimes, in particular in the shooting of Jews. Professor Schmid notes this. For his part he states that he does not charge Oberländer with having

By John Peet

a direct or indirect part in the shooting of Jews in Lvov. If he should have stated that he would never sit at the same table with Professor Oberländer, then he expresses his regret, and gives an assurance that he will not repeat this remark."

There is just one little footnote to the sorry story. The judge before whom the persons concerned appeared, and who helped to bring about the agreement by reminding the litigants of their "high positions in public life", is named Hans Hofmeyer. He served the nazis throughout the war as judge in a military court.

Some of our readers, though grinding slowly, grind exceedingly small, and a New Zealander has just surfaced with a comment on a Notebook item in our issue of May 17th (1963). In that issue I attributed the hoary story about the fall of the town of Umbrage to an anonymous London newsboy. Now our vastly-informed New Zealander puts things right: the story was first printed in "Punch" over 90 years ago in this form:

"It appears that the Americans have taken umbrage."

"The deuce they have! Whereabouts is that?"

The exact reference, if anyone cares, is "Punch", 1872, vol. lxiii, p.189.

We should obviously have verified our references; and while we are on the subject, the remark about references is attributed to a thoroughly unknown gentleman named Martin Joseph Routh, born in 1755, who lived to be 99, and who is believed to have said: "You will find it a very good practice always to verify your references, sir!"

And to round off Pedants' Corner for the day, the reference in our opening sentence is a researcher's delight all in its own right. "The mills of God grind slowly, yet they

grind exceedingly small" is generally attributed to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882); but he had it from the German poet Friedrich von Logau (1604-1655); and he had it from another German, Sebastian Franck (1499-1542); and he had it, at several removes, from the Roman writer Sextus Empiricus (second century AD); and he apparently lifted it from Plutarch (46-120).

When I started out on the preceding paragraph, I had no idea what I was letting myself in for; I thought the story ended with Longfellow.

Continuing our researches into the English language as she is sometimes writ in the GDR, we have recently come across the English-language "Travel Guide - German Democratic Republic", published in 1962 in Leipzig, which, I am sorry to say, yields a fine crop of howlers. My favourite is this, to be found on page 79:

"We arrive at Guben on the Oder-Neisse frontier of peace, known through its hat industry."

On page 147 we are informed that "the impassioned auto-driver may believe that he can forego using the railway." I am still wondering what he was so impassioned about.

But far be it from me to discourage tourists who visit the GDR from buying this book; it is just the thing to chuckle over in a hotel lounge while you are waiting for the rain to stop.

But joking apart, it seems a pity that the GDR Travel Bureau, which wants to encourage tourism to the German Democratic Republic, does not get out a better guide book; you are not much better off if you get the German-language edition. You avoid the howlers which mar the English edition, but it is one of those annoying guides which never tells you the name of the nearest railway station or the times when museums are open; instead it blabs ahead for whole pages telling you how the rolling woodlands spread themselves before your gaze.

The German Democratic Republic makes a point of encouraging youth, but I think they have gone too far this time. An advertisement in the big Berlin newspaper "Neues Deutschland" on December 5th announced a musical competition, stating: "Competitors should be born after December 31st 1961".

Wait for it

To ensure a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year for our editorial staff and printers, there will be a gap in publication. The next issue of GERMAN REPORT will appear on January 10th.